

public acclaim that comes from proposing a bureaucratic reorganization.

Words, and promises, need to be backed up with the money to make those words a reality. Empty promises and hollow rhetoric, no matter how stirring, how bedecked in flags and bunting, will not protect our families, our neighbors, and our fellow citizens.

Iraq is not the only crisis on the American agenda. Hundreds of thousands of troops are shipping out for distant lands while the threat of terrorism is growing here at home; while the Nation, for the first time, is being put on orange alert.

These troops have our support and our prayers for their safe return. The families they leave behind also need the very best that we can do for them. They need our prayers, and they need more than our prayers; they need to have programs designed to improve their safety and security funded and implemented, not put on hold.

Having lost the \$5 billion, then I sought to come through with a \$3 billion homeland security amendment. The same thing happened.

I hope the view from the White House will expand to focus, not just beyond our shores, but also within our shorelines. We must not leave America unguarded.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the Senator from West Virginia has had a cold the last week or so, so we have missed him in the Chamber. It is good to hear you have your voice back and are gaining your strength. It is good to sit and listen to you.

I have had a lot of good education. As I said once in a debate in the Senate Chamber—we were talking about the distinguished Senator from Maryland, who is a Rhodes scholar. It was a colloquy between the Senator from West Virginia and the Senator from Maryland. I interrupted, with the consent of the Chair, and said: I am not a Rhodes scholar; I am a Byrd scholar. And I really am. I appreciate the Senator's remarks. He always pushes to better things. Better parts of us come out when you lead us. I appreciate very much the Senator's statement.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished whip for his comments. I thank him for his work that he performs here daily for his country, for his State, and for his colleagues in the Senate.

Mr. REID. I thank Senator BYRD very much.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, before I address the issue of Miguel Estrada, as a matter of personal privilege, I note I missed three rollcall votes last night on the three judicial nominees. I would have voted in the affirmative on all three nominees. The reason for my absence has to do with the fact—and I am holding two boarding passes—I boarded

a plane in Chicago to come to Washington and we were grounded because of mechanical difficulties. Because of the delay in that flight, it was impossible for me to make the rollcall votes. As I said earlier, I would have voted affirmatively on all three of President Bush's nominees who came before the Senate last night.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, as you know, yesterday the Senate unanimously confirmed the nominations of John R. Adams to be a judge for the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, S. James Otero to be a judge for the United States District Court for the Central District of California, and Robert A. Junell to be a judge for the United States District Court for the Western District of Texas. I was in Delaware meeting with constituents and, accordingly, was unable to attend yesterday's votes. I wish to note for the RECORD, however, that I would have voted in favor of all three nominees yesterday, having voted to report favorably their nominations from the Judiciary Committee last week.

SENATOR LIEBERMAN'S REMARKS TO NATO ALLIES

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, last weekend in Munich, our colleague, Senator LIEBERMAN, gave a remarkable speech to the annual Wehrkunde Security Conference. Alliances have contributed to America's strength since the end of World War II, and Senator LIEBERMAN, like many of us, has watched with concern as those alliances have weakened over the last 2 years. He makes a compelling case on why those alliances remain vital to our security and why it is important that the administration redouble its efforts to strengthen those alliances.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"HALTING THE CONTINENTAL DRIFT AND REVITALIZING THE U.S.-EUROPE RELATIONSHIP"

(By U.S. Senator Joe Lieberman; Feb. 8, 2003)

REMARKS TO WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE (AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY)

We come together in trying times with an urgent responsibility: to fortify our transatlantic alliance, which has vanquished many foes, spawned many democracies, and promoted many freedoms—but is now struggling to find a common voice in the face of many dangers.

The growing reach of NATO and its principles belies a disheartening truth. In a world facing new and evolving threats—terrorists, rogue regimes, and Weapons of Mass Destruction—NATO is split, and risks not only becoming the shell some predicted it would be after the fall of the Berlin Wall... but a dangerous stumbling block to a safer world.

The big question before us today is not who will join NATO or whether NATO will field a rapid response force, but instead, can our alliance survive a world in which our enemies are less defined, the dangers are more

dispersed, and the road to victory is much less clear?

We who are privileged to be leaders of NATO countries must make sure that the answer to that question is yes. The world of the 21st Century and each of our nations will be much safer if our alliance becomes not just larger but stronger, united around shared principles and the need for a common defense to the uncommon new threats that now face us all.

This process might best begin with some family therapy, since we have been acting too often in recent years like a dysfunctional family.

Let me begin with our side of the family. Since NATO'S inception, the strength of our alliance has always depended on American power. But America's power to lead has always depended on America's ability to listen. During the last two years, the American administration has turned a deaf ear to Europe. Some in America have sent the message that they see NATO and its member countries as a rubber stamp for the crisis that matters most to the United States at the moment, instead of a multilateral alliance of nations who listen to each other's concerns.

But I assure you that most Americans understand that America is not an island; it is part of an interconnected world. No matter how mighty a country's army or how large its treasury, vigorous and resilient alliances built on mutual respect are essential to securing the peace and making the world a safer place.

At the same time, we Americans are upset that so many Europeans seem so much less anxious about the new threats of terrorism, rogue nations, and weapons of mass destruction than we are. We accept the fact that for more than 50 years, U.S. leadership of NATO and our unique role in the world has meant that our security responsibilities have been more global than Europe's. While we worry about missiles in North Korea or conflict in the Taiwan Straits, Europe has mostly been able to focus on securing its own borders. But if September 11th has taught us anything, it's that none of us can retreat behind borders—because terror recognizes no borders. In today's world, enemies of freedom anywhere are a threat to safety everywhere.

I understand why the heavy hand from Washington has lately been seen less as a source of protection and more as a cause of resentment. But I'm here today to argue for your enlightened self-interest. Robert Kagan rightly asks: why should free people—citizens of our closest European allies—seem more worried about America than about terrorism—more anxious about Bush than about bin Laden?

We must urgently and honestly confront and resolve the differences that now divide us. If we fail to, the current continental drift will become a permanent rift, and we will all risk losing much more than family harmony. We will endanger our common security and future prosperity. And the world will lose its most reliable force for freedom and stability.

THE ANATOMY OF OUR DISHARMONY

We NATO allies still share three basic bonds, as we have since the beginning: common values and aspirations, common enemies who threaten those values, and common fates should we fail to work together. That those bonds are being weakened is an urgent threat that we must confront and resolve without delay.

THE WORLD WE SEE

The first wedge between us is in the way we see the world and its newest problems. Prime Minister Blair put it well when he said recently: "The problem people have